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between porters and muleteers, who if possible frequent different inns and do not like to travel together.

Most of the transport of goods is handled by muleteers who work a regular section of the main trade routes. Thus the longest caravan route in constant use is the road connecting Suifu on the Yang Tze, in Ssu Ch'uan with Bhamo on the Irrawady in Burma. Over this route there is constant traffic in silk from Ssu Ch'uan, which it still pays to transport for nearly a thousand miles on mule back. The silk is packed in bales at Suifu, each mule taking two bales, and is taken by the first caravan to Chao T'ung in Yunnan, about two hundred miles. There it is transferred to another set of mules and muleteers who take it on to K'un Ming (Yunnanfu), a further two hundred and fifty miles. A third caravan, often in charge of Ta Li men, takes it the next two hundred and seventy miles to Hsia Kuan, near Ta Li, this section taking thirteen days. At Hsia Kuan it is transferred to a fourth caravan, also very often run by Ta Li or Hsia Kuan men, who take it another thirteen stages to T'eng Yueh, in western Yunnan. Here it is transferred for the fifth and last time to T'eng Yueh men whose mules are acclimatised to the heat of the Burmese plains, which is very dangerous to plateau bred mules. They take it eight days down through the jungles of the border country to Bhamo, where it is shipped on river steamers for Rangoon. Suifu is generally reckoned to be thirty-two stages from K'un Ming, and Bhamo is a further thirty-four days' journey, in all sixty-six stages. This is probably the longest pack-horse trade route still in regular operation.

On the return journey these caravans take up cotton thread for the innumerable handlooms still used in Yunnan, but very many of the returning caravans have no loads, or pick up short distance local freights to pay their way, and this has been more noticeable in recent years

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since the fall of the exchange made goods bought in Burma too dear for the Yunnan market. Another long regular route is the tea road from Pu Erh in south Yunnan, about twenty days' journey south of Ta Li, to A Tun Tze on the border of Tibet in north Yunnan, which is eighteen stages from Ta Li. At this point the tea is handed over to Tibetan caravans which take it on to Lhasa and other points in Tibet. This road passes through Hsia Kuan and Ta Li, and the section from Hsia Kuan to Wei Hsi, half-way to A Tun Tze, is usually worked by men from the Ta Li plain.

These routes are called roads, because that is the usual translation of the Chinese word "*lu*," but it would be more accurate to call them tracks or paths. At one time, probably after the Ming conquest of Yunnan, these routes were paved with blocks of stone or cobbles, the paved track being about five feet wide with a smooth line of dressed stones down the middle. Except in a few places nearest to towns this paving has either completely disappeared, or become so disjointed and broken up as to be nearly impassable. The animals naturally dislike walking on broken slippery stones set at all angles in the mud, and where possible they have trodden out a new track on one side. This practice is resented by the owners of the fields adjoining the path, and they plant strong hedges of wild roses or prickly pear to confine the mules to the old broken track. If a man rides a horse on such a path the animal, trying to avoid the broken stones and mud holes, keeps to the outside edge and carries the rider under the long trailing shoots of the rose bushes, which soon tear his clothes to ribbons. The muleteers, of course, never ride their beasts.

Such stretches of broken track between the rose and cactus hedges only account for a small part of the day's stage. With very few exceptions every stage on any road in Yunnan involves climbing a range of mountains in the

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301 435 The Tibetans spend relatively much money on their ornaments. I quote the following prices: silver earrings for a man: $2 - $3 (at the time /17/ of my visit the Chinese silver dollar was the equivalent of US $0.50; the Chinese paper money which even at that time had a considerably lower rate of exchange, was not accepted by the tent nomads), corals for these: $2 - $3; finger rings: one-half dollar. The heavy rosaries of fragrant wood with pendant cost from $4 to several hundred dollars, the thin ones: $1 - $3. The small silver boxes attached to the rosaries and worn on the chest cost $10 - $15; an additional $1 - $2 is spent for the coral in the center. Simple old-fashioned guns cost only $10, but the Fantzu pay $200 - $300 for good modern ones. Swords cost $2 - $40, depending on their decoration and the amount of silver and coral used. The women's earrings cost $4 - $15, while the brass earrings of the young girls cost no more than $1. The hair ornaments of the girls costs $0.50, those of the women $10 to $100, depending on the amount of coral and whether they are made of silver or brass. Women's silver finger rings without corals or stones cost $1 - $2. The brass mounting on a hat costs 20 - 30 cents. The milking hook costs $2 - $10, according to its coral decoration. The women folk of the sedentary Fantzu wear much more expensive ornaments which may amount to several hundred dollars.

301 439 None of these ornaments is made by the Tibetans, but by the Chinese who now frequently sell very cheap and inferior ornaments made of brass. However, the valuable and artistic ornaments come from Inner Tibet and Hsik'ang. Genuine corals and semi-precious stones (turquoise, malachite) are likewise imported from Inner Tibet, whereas imitation coral is also imported from China.

Dwellings and Pastures

361 621 The nomadic Fantzu are joined together in separate tent communities, but these are very loose associations. Such a tent camp consists of 4 - 40 tents, the average being probably 20 to 25. The nomads change their place of residence three times a year. They move into the first tent encampment in April and remain there until July. From July to September they occupy the second camp. In September or October the nomads come down to lower altitudes and stay there until April or /18/ May. During this time they do not live in tents but in simple loam huts grouped together in smaller or larger units. Each family returns to the same house every year.

The individual tent communities, however, do not always consist of the same families; the tribal chief (Chinese, t'ou-mu) uses

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craft. The women know how to spin wool, but cannot weave. The only craft with which a woman can earn money is that of hairdresser. Only the men can sew, and they make all the clothing and shoes. They use Chinese cotton thread and crude needles imported from Szechuan. The only men's craft besides tailoring is saddle-making. Often, however, men earn money with their oxen as drivers of pack animals. The tents are made mostly by lamas.

Basketry is not highly developed. The large willow baskets used for gathering yak dung are sometimes made at home, but are generally imported from the neighboring sedentary Fantzu. Shallow baskets are used for storing special provisions, for example, mushrooms, and these are obtained from the Tebu-Fantzu.

The livestock of the nomads constitutes their entire wealth. They have practically no money. In livestock there are great differences between rich and poor. It often happens that a family or an entire tent community suddenly becomes impoverished, if a great many animals starve after a deep snowfall, or if many die of an epidemic. If a family loses all its animals, friends and neighbors help them out. There is very little begging. In the nomad settlements one never sees beggars; a few may be seen around the monasteries where they get a little tsamba on festive occasions or at burials.

Taxation is still very low: $0.50 to $1, according to the size of the family, must be paid annually to the tribal chief. The Chinese police collect it from him twice a year, in the second and eighth month. No monetary tax need be paid to the lamaseries, /36/ but each family must contribute food for the general temple festivals and to those temples where they have relatives among the lamas. Lamas also come to the tent camps very often to collect butter for the lamaseries, and this is always freely given.

Trade is entirely in the hands of Mohammedans and Chinese chiefly the former. There are quite a number of things that are purchased with money; farther in the interior of the grasslands there is more barter. During the first years of the Republic silver dollars came to be used in place of unminted silver (taels). Smaller units of exchange are the tsuan (?) and copper coins. A tsuan is the equivalent of 49 copper coins; 4 tsuan are 36 cents; 11 1/2 tsuan are 1 silver dollar. In 1936 there was no paper money among the Fantzu, but it will soon replace silver which is being recalled by Chinese officials.

The nomads sell the following to Mohammedans and Chinese: sheep, horses and yaks, sheep guts, horse and yak hides, horse and

439 237 yak tails, skins of sheep, of lambs and unborn lambs, of dogs, foxes and groundhogs, more rarely skins of goats, gazelles and wolves. After New Year, for which pigs were slaughtered, they also sell pig bristles. Finally, they sell musk, field mushrooms, the chüo-ma root (Potentilla anserina) and hsiao-hsiang, a plant used in making incense candles.

439 The Chinese sell to the Fantzu: dress goods (silk and cotton), leopard skins for the men's fur coats, ornaments, weapons, kitchen utensils, especially cooking pots, needles, thread, matches, bridles with snaffle and stirrup. Tsamba is purchased from the sedentary Fantzu, often also wood. Woodenware, especially saddles, eating bowls and spoons come chiefly from the sedentary Fantzu who live in southern Kansu and northern Szechuan.

201 439 Bargaining is carried on very cautiously. The Tibetans do not come out with the price immediately, but /37/ according to a custom also widespread in China, the two parties shake hands under their long sleeves, and the price demanded of the buyer is indicated by stretching out the fingers. They keep a dead-pan expression, so that they will not betray toward one another their real feelings about the transaction. Often such a transaction in sign language is carried on not by the two partners alone; bystanders act as go-betweens or lend support to one of the two parties, but likewise only in sign language under their sleeves.

439 The Mohammedan and Chinese traders come to the tent camps of the Mewu-Fantzu. (1) But the Fantzu also often go to the

1. For details see Ekvall 4).

Chinese settlements next to the temples on the caravan road from Ho-chou to Labrang, or to the nearest Chinese cities. An important trading station for the Mewu-Fantzu is the Chinese-Mohammedan settlement next to the large monastery of He-tso; somewhat farther away and less important is the trading station near the monastery of Ka-chia-chiu-szu; a large trading center still farther away is the one near the large temple city of Labrang. The more sizeable Chinese cities visited by the Mewu-Fantzu are the district cities of T'ao-chou (the old part of the city), Ho-chou and Ning-hou. In T'ao-chou they buy chiefly metalware, for example, copper and brass kettles. Frequently the nomads bring wood with their yaks from the sedentary Fantzu of the lower areas to Ho-chou and Ning-hou, and buy goods with the money they have thus earned. The nomads

The nomads Mewu

do not go beyond Ho-chou, Ning-hou and T'ao-chou to trade, but they do undertake longer journeys to famous places of pilgrimage. Some time in their lives most of them go to Kum-bum, more often to Labrang. Small groups of four or five tent nomads occasionally also go on pilgrimages to the large sacred cities of Inner Tibet, Lhasa and Shigatse. /38/

In the summer of 1936 all the Mewu-Fantzu undertook the two-to-three-days' pilgrimage to Labrang in order to see the Panchan-Lama, the spiritual head of the Lamaists, who happened to be there at the time. Individual tent nomads also accompany lamas and Living Buddhas on journeys into Inner Tibet.

Formal education is unknown among the tent nomads. The lamas alone are educated and versed in purely scholastic Tibetan knowledge. Only those laymen can read who were once lamas themselves, but for some reason laid aside the spiritual garb. All contracts and agreements are verbal.

The language of the tent nomads is the northeast Tibetan dialect of the former Tibetan province of Amdo. Some tent nomads speak a little Chinese, which they learn from Chinese and Mohammedan traders, with whom they do business. In counting and calculating they often use their rosaries; as yet they do not use the Chinese abacus. If they have complicated transactions, they seek help from a lama. They do not use special measuring rods. Cloth is measured in squares, the side of a square being equal to the width of the cloth strip. They have no particular square measure for their pasturelland; hills, roads and brooks are their only boundaries. They measure oat fields in terms of a "day's work," i.e. the surface which can be ploughed in one day with one yak. Their unit of weight is the Chinese chin (pound) at 32 /sic/ liang (ounces). They try to approximate the weight determined by Chinese officials in He-tso. Sliding weights are measured with simple Chinese hand-scales and a stone. Capacity measures, like the Chinese tou (bushel), are not used because there are no products traded in this way.

The Mewu-Fantzu have adopted the Chinese calendar. (1) However, they do not themselves buy the Chinese calendar books; the scholarly lamas figure out the Chinese calendar for the people and /39/ post it on the temple gate, so that everyone will know whether

1. as have the Tibetans in general, Cf. Wadell 7), pag 451.

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233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, S cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies ST is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken [439] nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very S prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

ST The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from 563 those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan 101 family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or S "upper[1]."

ST A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows 195 that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.